CHAPTER III

THE MERCANTILE CENTER

The mountainous character of the Rowanduz region, its many peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but it could only be a smaller part of the entire area. Wide, level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains about Batas or Dyana, but many other holdings are no more than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the productive wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. In the town of Rowanduz itself there are four professional fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal, and they have additional employment. Ibex, the long-horned mountain goat, is hunted chiefly for sport, and strong-smelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local huntsmen. In accordance with Quranic prescription, if such game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive," after having been brought down with a rifle. The local

The local
mountain partridge (Kurdish, shikaw) makes a regularly 223
favored dish, and is clubbed or snared. Wolves are 224
occasionally shot in winter for their pelts, and a few 136
furs may always be seen hanging in the shops of merchants
in Rowanduz. Snow leopards and bears are only rarely
encountered. Numerous stories surround bears and their 825
predilection for honey. They are thought to be in some
way akin to humans, and tales of their abduction of women
for mates are frequent. Fishing, carried on with nets or 226
bombs of blasting powder, is similarly limited, and the
largest catch is a type of carp.

Animal husbandry constitutes one of the most important 231
activities of the area, because wool and skins are two of
its few valuable exports. The animals so utilized are the
black-haired goat and fat-tailed sheep, the latter often
stained with some mark in red ochre as a "brand." From [422]
the sheep and goats wool, skins, flesh, and milk are ob-
tained. Cattle have utility as beasts of burden, and are [492]
only rarely slaughtered for their meat. The dairy products 234
of all these animals constitute a large part of the daily 262
diet as milk, mast (artificially curdled milk, yoghurt),
butter, and cheese. Gi or clarified butter is commonly used
in cooking, in competition with industrially produced
vegetable oil, and is prepared by agitating a milk-filled
sheepskin suspended from a wooden tripod and allowing the
butter to melt. It has been noted that the kotchir or 233
nomads seem to act as shepherds for the entire area, but
they do not exercise an exclusive monopoly, for almost

every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chicken, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowanduz, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and bypassers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

are utilized for riding. One finds here a revealing comparison with the Arab South. In such a country as Egypt it is commonplace to see a man perched on a donkey while his wife shuffles along behind on foot. In the Rowanduz district, the man walks and the woman rides, a contrast which was several times pointed out by Kurds themselves as evidence of their loftier respect for their women. Almost every village possesses a large number of watchdogs, the typical animal large and fawn-coloured, not unlike an Eskimo husky. In many cases their ears have been cut off, and there are two stories to account for this practice. One holds that it enables the dog to hear prowlers more acutely, and the other claims that the severed ears should be fed to the puppies to make them more ferocious. The town of Rowanduz is more or less taken over by its dog population at night, packs of them running without the houses and environs, often raising a disturbing uproar with their quarrels. They sometimes appear dangerous, but have great respect for a thrown stone. A Kurd approaching a farmhouse will generally equip himself with a handful of pebbles. Dogs are usually ignored after they reach maturity, fending for themselves, but puppies are fondled and made much of by both children and adults. Cats are conspicuous in their absence. It might be mentioned here that, aside from chikaw kept for fighting and dogs, the only other animals kept for amusement are ground-squirrels, carried by some in a pocket and danced on the end of a cord in the chaykhana for the diversion of other customers.

492 [562] 231 [825]

The principal crops of the Rowanduz area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel mattock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nestorians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

and valley according to the season. The agricultural year approximates that of Central and Northern Europe, in that planting begins in the spring and harvesting after mid-summer. Winter is a lean season, particularly with respect to fruits and vegetables, for there are almost no techniques known to preserve most varieties through winter and spring.

It is necessary to note that grain in the area is ground into flour by water-driven mills, but their construction, a water-driven rotor turning a millstone, need not detain us.[1] There are three such mills (Kurdish, asbi, from Arabic, hashiya) near the town of Rowanduz, Ashi Shaykhi immediately above the town, Ashi Miri in Kawlokan, and Ashi Bayshukh at Jindian. The general practice is to pay the mill-owner one bowl of flour from every four-gallon tin ground. If the owner of the grain is wealthy, he may pay the miller the monetary equivalent of the bowl, a small sum.

It is almost impossible to describe a "typical" agricultural village for the area, because there is a great deal of variation in size, and some differences in the emphasis placed on certain crops. However, a small village overlooking the road between Shaqlawah and Harir will provide some general idea. This consists of about thirty rubble and mud-brick houses of a single-storey with flat mud roofs, built in three rectangular tiers along

[1] A detailed description is to be found in Leach, 1940, pp. 69-70.

342

a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as porches for those above. The population of this community [162] was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house is simple, its floor of tamped earth, its windows without glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an [354] indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings [312] meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This 366 village boasts no specialized constructions and is without shops. Larger villages, such as Batas or Dyana, have a number of buildings for special purposes, for example, [344] [346] the police post and the Nestorian church in Dyana, and a definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards 417 of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the 231 ● smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic 342 animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during cold weather, and in some locales in the area caves are used as cattle-pens or sheep-folds in the winter. 361 "agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often, but in the Rowandus district it is possible to find isolated farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. The 342 Kotshir, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a black goat-hair tent floored with rugs, in general appearance not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique designs.

or windbreaks, and both of these demands are satisfied by the villager. There has been an extensive and serious attempt by the government to curb depredations of standing timber and to provide for reforestation of the district, but between the need for fuel in the winter and the desire for outdoor shelter in summer the trees continue to suffer.

The livelihood of the district, then, consists almost completely in agriculture and animal husbandry. Although the many difficulties which face cultivators and shepherds elsewhere are to be encountered here, and the year "fat" or "lean," the threat of famine seems to be very slight. Real starvation is only remembered from the days of the first World War when a Czarist army cut its way through the valleys, burning crops and villages, and emergencies since that time have been few. For the surplus, the foci of district marketing have some variation. It has been seen that the Tobacco Monopoly, centered at Rowandus, controls the harvest and sale of tobacco. A high percentage of other agricultural and dairy products are consumed in the villages themselves. The surplus portions may be variously allocated, some sold directly from the area to agents coming from Erbil, others bought up in the town of Rowandus, and still others retailed in smaller mercantile towns in the district. It must not be thought that Rowandus exercises an exclusive commercial monopoly over the area, for there are a number of towns with their own merchants, a few of them real competitors, such as Iprem, and others a natural response to the requirements

employed by the government, and those without work at all. 463

Bakers	8
Barbers	3
Blacksmiths	2
Bootblacks	2
Brickmaker	1
Butchers	4
Carpenters	4
Cloth-sellers (bazaz)	20
Cobblers	6
Drivers	2
Farriers	2
Fishermen	4
General merchants	10
Hotel-owner (khanchi)	1
Hunter	1
Itinerant traders (atar) ... variable:	30-50
Laborers ..... variable:	30-50
Laundresses	unknown
Masons and builders	3
Midwives	4
Muleteers	5
Porters	8
Restaurant-owner	1
Roasters of meat (kababchie)	3
Seamstresses	6
Servants	unknown
Tailors	8
Tea-shop owners	10
Tinsmiths	3
Weavers	2
Wholesale merchants	5

It is an interesting characteristic of Rowanduz that no person living in the town is directly employed in agriculture or animal husbandry, nor does the town itself lay claim to agricultural lands or pasturage, although a dozen or so persons living therein own such property. There are, to be sure, a number of gardens within its precincts, and not a few of its people have been drawn directly from the soil. This circumstance, the total absence of cultivators, seems puzzling at first, but a comparison with similar towns seems to indicate it is probably fortuitous. The salient feature appears to be the absence of everyday

241 [231] [247]

Aside from this

work in building and repair, the only significant production of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, a part of her dowry, and a significant economic commodity, as it may include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always brightly painted. Two shops in Rowanduz maintained by carpenters display a large number of these, and there is always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The carpenter's tools and equipment, mattocks, hammers, planes, chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden biers, and occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as cradles, are fashioned in the households of villagers.

335 322 322 422 415 [583] 412 [439] 322 [764] [854]

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The government veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil service and army, but, although his services are available to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and blacksmiths, with their diminutive anvils and charcoal fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

326 231 [232]

is an event which always attracts a number of spectators. 326
The blacksmiths also forge a few crude agricultural tools [231]
and do a certain amount of repair work. There is extensive
scavenging of iron, and the blacksmith's establishment con-
tains a huge number of odds and ends which might some day
find a customer. Hinges and nails, for example, are pur- [414]
chased by builders and householders. Tinsmiths exercise 326
considerable importance in domestic economy in the fabrica- 415
tion and, particularly, the repair of cooking utensils, and
their workshops in the bazar are daily sought by a large
number of persons, not only from the town, but from the
district at large. The poorly-made metal pots and pans
are always in need of repair, and the tinsmith, much more
so than many of his fellows, has an extremely brisk trade.
One important specialty is the repair of cracked or broken 323
porcelain dishes. Large platters, imported long ago from 415
abroad and used in serving food, are precious family heir-
looms and handed down from generation to generation. A
crack is repaired by drilling a series of tiny holes through
the dish on either side of the break and fastening them
together with metal cleats. One of the dearest possessions 415
of a housewife is her samovar for brewing tea, and those 326
of the wealthier families, of etched brass or pewter,
were brought in by trade from Russia or Iran many years
ago and inherited through the family. The tinsmiths
manufacture a bright, but poorly soldered, tea-urn of
sheet tin which is in great demand among the poorer
villagers. A villager carrying one of these home from 415

faggots supplied by the villagers, in their courtyard, but they are used as fuel for the kitchen rather than to obtain household warmth, and incidentally serve at night as roosts for the chickens. 354 372 [231]

Of the rooms of the house, those used for sleeping might be considered first, which also serve as apartments for the women, although there is nothing approaching the Ottoman notion of a harim with its guarded entrance and separate domestic facilities. These sleeping rooms have rectangular niches, several feet off the floor, cut into the outer walls whose thickness can accommodate them, which house the brightly-painted chests containing the clothing and goods of the house. A few niches may hold trinkets, mirrors, photographs, and the like. A number of the households have wooden or iron bedsteads in the European style, the latter imported from Erbil, but the greater part use wool or cotton mattresses spread directly on the floor with a bed of blankets and quilts made up on them. A variety of pillows and bolsters are in use, not only in these rooms, but elsewhere in the home. During the day the mattresses and their coverings are rolled up against the walls and serve as couches for those occupying the room. They may be unrolled after the noon meal for the short rest taken by many at this time. The floor itself is covered with mats, products of southern Iraq, or carpets, some of the latter beautiful examples of Iranian weaving. Other furniture, chairs or stools, is not uncommon, but is also 353 352 513 352 513 352

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 7. Rice fields in front of the mountains of Kurdistan.

condition the siting of the villages. Some deep hits—three in a row—at Topzawa suggest the former use of *qandīs*. Watercourses and springs are dammed to form basins for the fetching of water and for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging these canals mattocks (E. 2241) and foot plough[35], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The foot plough was seen in use down by the Lesser Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for must and dried to *ra'sins*. Around the villages of Sergalu, Balkha and Tawella, which have ample water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are: cows and oxen, *gā*, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, *bi'zin*, donkeys, *kār*, and mules, *hanīr*, with ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, *asīp*, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a curb bit[36]. There are also big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds[37]. At 5 a.m. the cows are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6–7 p.m. the animals are driven back

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

133
231
243
291
342

Fig. 10. Threshing by means of animals driven round the flatly-heaped corn. Topzawa.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second 243
method employs a machine, *jawjarr*, which can be called a threshing sleigh[43], threshing car[44] or threshing
roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists 243
of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross seat. Between the side pieces, which are 407
studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh,
two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades
whose edges are at right angles to each other[45]. These blades are so placed that the machine rests
alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at
right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine
serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven
round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into
chaff.

According to Hay[46] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [184]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

through which the right hand pushes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sulaimani bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.338 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[38].

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The *tandūr* is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[39]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, *sibbād*, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2276).

When baking on the iron sheet, *tāwa*, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are clapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then raised in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and longer. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[40]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket.

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[41], whilst a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, *kalīzā* or *kīsā* (E. 2258), made of a whole tanned lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Balkha, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking.

Milk, *šīr*, is never used raw[42]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flatbottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's *mâst* is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new *mâst* or curds. A clay vase, *dīza*, (E. 2260), height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 33. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. Topzawa.

It was stated that the first *mâst* strain is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy[43]. *Mâst* could be eaten with sliced gherkins in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese[44].

Mâst diluted with water becomes *mâstâw*[45], a full-cream, but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. *Mâst* is also the material from which butter, *kere*, is churned[46]. Every day at 5 a.m. in the villages, *mâst* is poured into the churning sack, *malk*, made of a whole goatskin tanned in oak bark, carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the *mâst* down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally[47] either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house. The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

461 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

243 233 132 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm., concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the tenant villages with an active and interested landowner.

231 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

241 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

TABLE I

LIVESTOCK AND FIELDS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN *DECON*

households:	adults	children	oxen	cows	sheep goats	donkeys	horses	wheat	barley	tobacco	rice	other
Hadji Maolud	2	5	5	4	60	2	1	23	27	4	1.5	4
Mahmoud	2	7	4	2	50	4	1	15	15	3	.5	5
Derwish Hassan	3	1	4	5	10	1	—	20	20	2	.5	4
Hadji Aziz	3	4	4	4	20	1	—	25	25	3	.5	5
Karim	3	3	2	3	—	1	—	10	10	2	.5	4
Derwish Hammed	3	—	2	4	1	—	—	15		2	.5	3
Hussein	2	2	—	2	10	—	—	5	7	2	—	—
Ali	2	4	—	2	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—
Rahman	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	2		—	—	—
single woman	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	3		—	—	—
10 households, pop. 51			47		150	10	2	225		18	4	25

(areal measure 1 Donum = 50×50 m. = ¼ hectare)

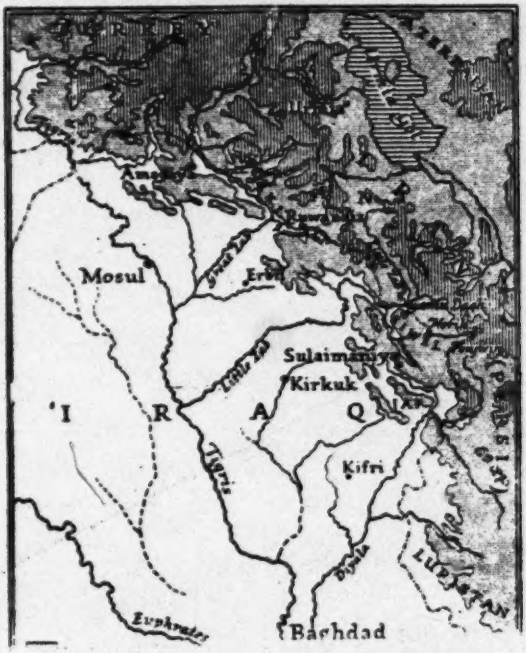
cereal crop. Much reliance is based on the general fitness of this crop to the area. Consequently, the yield is low, and a large area pr. capita must be brought under the plow.

To preserve, in some measure, the fertility of the soil, the fields are left fallow alternate years. These fallow fields should however be plowed at regular intervals, obviously at considerable labor cost. (cf. Appendix I). The plow itself is made of wood, with a conical iron cover over the point. It has a very low level of efficiency, and it is generally necessary to cross-plow all fields. In the hilly areas, the slow moving oxen are the only draft animals, which further extends the period of labor. The outcome of this is that the Kurdish farmer spends a very great amount of time plowing, but whith rather meagre results. Average return in wheat and barley seems to be c. 8/1 in an openly seeded field.

Reaping takes place, according to altitude, between May and July. The grain is cut with a short, curved sicle, and heaped on areas of hard sunbaked clay by or in the field. Threshing is done by the oxen trampling the heaped grain, winnowing with a simple wooden fork.

342 I STIRRED drowsily in bed as the chill of the early dawn penetrated my covering of blankets, then rubbed my eyes and slowly became conscious of the world around me. I was lying on the flat mud roof of a house; on all sides other similar roofs appeared. Each had a screen of bamboo matting facing the wind from the nearby hills, and behind it were piles of multi-coloured blankets.

000 The faint light in the eastern sky grew brighter, and the black shadows of the [231] hills turned green as the crowing of cocks and the barking of dogs heralded the approaching dawn. Gradually the piles



[p.382 (B)]

778 say it was here long before then. It is called the *Shakhs-i-Kani Ba* (The Spring of the Wind); in the time of my father's father a great plane-tree stood over it which was blown down by the wind. But then, as always before, when the tree is destroyed another springs up in its place —and that is the one you see there now."

778 771 In the religion of Zoroaster fire was considered to be the agent which cauterizes and purifies all things, and was regarded as the visible symbol of the God of Purity. Hence it was but a step to endow wood (as the producer of fire), and certain trees, with an atmosphere of sanctity. Thus certain large and solitary trees came to be regarded much as is the shakhs of today. The Zoroastrians even hung pieces of cloth on the branches.

• 231 771 Zoroaster commanded that the dog should be protected and cared for by man even as one of his family; the shepherd looks to his dog for defence against wolves and other marauders. The Kurdish nomad of today, although prevented by his creed from sanctifying the dog, still regards it as a useful ally, and almost a friend. In fact the *tanjiy* (a kind of saluki used for hunting) still remains a member of the household. The Kurd saves his Mohammedan conscience by saying that the tanjiy is not a dog, and nowadays to call a man's tanjiy his 'dog is almost an insult.

231 The Kurds dislike killing dogs. Soon after the Great War stray dogs in Sulaimaniya became such a nuisance that the Political Agent ordered them to be shot; it almost created a riot in the town, and police had to be called out!

197 Travelling among the tribes of Kurdistan one finds a great variety of dialects, but they have a common basic form throughout, especially in the grammar. There is also an affinity between Pushtu (spoken in Afghanistan) and Kurdish—too strong to be classed as a coincidence. By the casual, or politically-biased, philologist. Pushtu and Kurdish are desig-

[p. 384(B)]
[text continued on p. 386(B)]

10:Johnson G-3 (no date) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Iraq

H. I. Cowan

Among Zoroastrian traditions which have lingered on with the Kurds is the prophet's command that the dog should be cared for as one of the family. But their Moslem faith now forbids such sanctification; so to absolve their conscience they cherish the creature under another name and are accordingly insulted if their tanjiy, a kind of saluki, is referred to as a 'dog'

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[237]

[p. 386(4)]

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J. C. A. Johnson

An agha of the Pizhder tribe on his favourite mare. Among the Kurds an agha holds the position of a feudal baron, offering to the serfs the protection of armed guards and receiving in return various taxes. He will always ride a mare in preference to a horse because it is quieter and more manageable. Pedigree horses are kept by the tribe for breeding purposes; the others are used as pack animals.

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J. C. A. Johnson

Two Pizhder warriors from the agha's bodyguard. These men are regarded as personal retainers and therefore they rank higher than serfs. Each man has his own horse and rifle

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•281

[p 309 (A)]